

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 VIENNA 04444 01 OF 02 011550Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00
SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07 EB-07 NRC-05 OES-07
ERDA-05 DHA-02 OIC-02 FEA-01 /135 W
-----012239Z 024119 /41

O R 011415Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1913
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 4444

USIAEA

DEPT PASS IO/SCT

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, TECH MNUC
SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICAN REPRESENTATION IN IAEA AND ARTICLE VI
REVISION

REF: (A) IAEA 4357, (B) STATE 123863,
(C) IAEA VIENNA 4177

1. SUMMARY: MAY 30 MEETING WITH SPONSORS ARTICLE VI
REVISION ESTABLISHED HARDENING OF AFRICAN POSITION
AS REGARDS CONTINUED SOUTH AFRICAN REPRESENTATION ON
BOARD OF GOVERNORS TO POINT OF REFUSING TO HAVE ANY
LINKAGE BETWEEN CONTINUATION OF SOUTH AFRICA ON
THE BOARD AND AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE VI TO PROVIDE
INCREASED REPRESENTATION FOR AFRICA, MIDDLE EAST AND
SOUTH ASIA. ANY PACKAGE DEAL IS THEREFORE
DEAD. IT IS DIFFICULT TO ENVISAGE CONTINUED SOUTH
AFRICAN REPRESENTATION ON IAEA BOARD OF GOVERNORS. END
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 VIENNA 04444 01 OF 02 011550Z

SUMMARY.

2. IN MEETING THAT LATED WELL OVER TWO HOURS AT
U.S. MISSION MAY 30, IT BECAME CLEAR THAT AFRICAN STATES
HAVE CONCLUDED THEY CANNOT ACCEPT A PACKAGE DEAL WHICH
WOULD LINK CONTINUED SOUTH AFRICAN REPRESENTATION ON
BOARD OF GOVERNORS WITH ADDITIONAL SEATS ON THE

BOARD. MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY AMBASSADORS SIRRY (EGYP), ADENIJI (NIGERIA), AL-GHADAMSI (LIBYA), SATTAR (PAKISTAN), FURLONGER (AUSTRALIA), AS WELL AS BRITISH RESREP SLATER AND MYSELF.

3. I HAD EARLIER MEETING WITH FURLONGER AND WE AGREED THAT I WOULD TRY OUT DEPARTMENT'S FORMULATION CONTAINED REFTEL (B). AT OPENING OF MEETING AND AT REQUEST ADENIJI WHO WAS PRINCIPAL SPOKESMAN FOR AFRICAN GROUP, I DISCUSSED. DEPARTMENT'S FORMULATION AND THE REASONS FOR IT. SUBSEQUENTLY, ADENIJI MADE LENGTHY PRESENTATION TO EFFECT AFRICANS DID NOT WISH THERE TO BE ANY LINKAGE BETWEEN QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN REPRESENTATION AND THAT OF AMENDMENT OF THE STATUTE. ALL OF THE SPONSORS OF THE STATUTE AMENDMENT CLAIMED THEY NEVER HAD SOUTH AFRICA IN MIND AT THE TIME THEIR AMENDMENT WAS PROPOSED. BASED ON PREVIOUS DISCUSSION REPORTED REFTEL (C), I TOLD HIM I ROCOGNIZED THAT THEY HAD A PRESENTATIONAL PROBLEM BASED ON ADENIJI'S EARLIER ASSERTION THAT WHILE ALL OF US REALIZED THERE WAS A CONNECTION, THE TERMS OF OUR PACKAGE PROPOSAL SHOULD BE SO FAR AS POSSIBLE HIDDEN FROM PUBLIC VIEW. IT THEN DEVELOPED THAT AFRICAN POSITION HAD HARDENED TO THE POINT WHERE THEY WERE NOT PREPARED TO HAVE ANY LINKAGE BETWEEN THE TWO ISSUES. THE THREE AFRICAN AMBASSADORS EXPLAINED THAT THEY COULD NOT ENTER INTO AN EXERCISE THAT WOULD BE CALLED A PACKAGE DEAL. THEY ADMITTED THAT THEIR ATTITUDE WAS DICTATED BY STRONG POLITICAL AND, AS AMBASSADOR SIRRY PUT IT, EVEN EMOTIONAL FACTORS. THERE COULD NOT BE EVEN A SUSPICION OF A LINKAGE BETWEEN THE TWO ISSUES.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 VIENNA 04444 01 OF 02 011550Z

4. DISCUSSION THEN REVOLVED AROUND THE IMPORTANCE TO ALL MEMBER STATES OF SOUTH AFRICAN ADHERENCE TO THE NPT. AFRICANS ASSERTED THEY WERE NOT FRIGHTENED BY THE IDEA OF SOUTH AFRICA TURNING TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THEY FRANKLY ADMITTED SOUTH AFRICA HAD MORE THAN ADEQUATE CONVENTIONAL FORCE TO DEAL WITH ANY PRESENTLY FORESEEABLE CONTINGENCY. THEY WERE DETERMINED THAT THE DESIGNATED SEAT CURRENTLY FILLED BY SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE FILLED BY AN AFRICAN STATE APPROVED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE OAU.

5. COMMENT: IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE AFRICAN POSITION HAD SUBSTANTIALLY HARDENED IN THE COURSE OF THE LAST WEEK PARTLY AS A RESULT OF THE CONSULTATIONS WHICH THEY UNDERTOOK WITH OTHER AFRICAN STATES BUT POSSIBLY MORE IMPORTANTLY BY THE INTRANSIGENT ATTITUDE REGARDING INTERNAL SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES SHOWN BY PRIME MINISTER VORSTER AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE HERE IN VIENNA MAY 20. END COMMENT.

6. AMBASSADOR FURLONGER ENDEAVORED TO EXPLORE

POSSIBILITY OF AFRICAN TOLERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN
MEMBERSHIP ON THE BOARD IF SOUTH AFRICA TOOK A POSITIVE
STEP TOWARDS ADHERENCE TO THE NPT. ALL HIS EFFORTS
WERE UNAVAILING AND BOILED DOWN TO THE AFRICANS CLAIMING
IN EFFECT THAT THEY COULDN'T CARE LESS WHETHER SOUTH
AFRICA SIGNED THE NPT OR NOT. BEFORE MEETING BROKE UP,
AMBASSADOR SIRRY WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO SAY THAT
THEY FULLY APPRECIATED THE SINCERITY WITH WHICH WE HAD
MADE AN EFFORT TO FIND SOME COMMON GROUND WHICH WOULD
HOPEFULLY DISPOSE OF THESE TWO THORNY ISSUES CONFRONTING
THE JUNE BOARD. HE GAVE ASSURANCE THAT ALL THOSE
PRESENT WERE SINCERELY INTERESTED IN THE
CONTINUED EFFECTIVE FUNCTIONING OF THE IAEA BUT THAT
POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS BEYOND THEIR CONTROL MADE IT
IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE AFRICAN STATES TO PLACE THEMSELVES IN
A SITUATION WHERE THERE COULD EVEN BE A SUSPICION OF
A LINK BETWEEN THE ISSUE OF CONTINUED SOUTH AFRICAN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 VIENNA 04444 01 OF 02 011550Z

REPRESENTATION AND THE AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE VI.
SIRRY SUPPORTED BY SATTAR EXPRESSED HOPE WE COULD
CONTINUE TO WORK QUIETLY BEHIND THE SCENES TO TRY AND
RESOLVE OUTSTANDING ISSUES.

7. COMMENT: POSITION OF AFRICANS CLEARLY FORECLOSES ANY
FURTHER PACKAGE DEAL. DESPITE THIS I AM CONVINCED

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 VIENNA 04444 02 OF 02 011616Z
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00
IOE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07 EB-07 NRC-05
OES-07 FEAE-00 ERDA-05 DHA-02 OIC-02 /134 W
-----011625Z 024454 /42

O R 011415Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1914
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 4444

USIAEA

THAT THE EXERCISE WAS WELL WORTHWHILE AND I PARTICULARLY APPRECIATE HELPFUL INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE DEPARTMENT WHICH PERMITTED ME TO CONSIDER VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES IN AN EFFORT TO TRY AND FIND A COMPROMISE WHICH MIGHT BE SUPPORTED BY CONSENSUS. I AM PERSONALLY SATISFIED THAT WORKING RELATIONSHIPS PARTICULARLY WITH SIRRY AND SATTAR HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVED AS RESULT OF THIS EXERCISE. END COMMENT.

8. FOLLOWING DEPARTURE OF AMENDMENT SPONSORS, FURLONGER, SLATER AND I HELD A POST-MORTEM DURING WHICH WE CONCLUDED THAT THERE SEEMS NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE FAILURE TO DESIGNATE SOUTH AFRICA FOR THE NEXT BOARD OF GOVERNORS AND ITS REPLACEMENT BY ANOTHER AFRICAN STATE. GIVEN GROUP OF 77 MAJORITY ON PRESENT BOARD PLUS CERTAIN SUPPORT FROM COMMUNIST BLOC COUNTRIES, THERE DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE ANY OTHER ALTERNATIVE.

9. THE PRINCIPAL ISSUE BEFORE US NOW IS WHETHER TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 VIENNA 04444 02 OF 02 011616Z

STONEWALL THE EFFORT TO ACHIEVE INCREASED BOARD REPRESENTATION FOR AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA OR TO ATTEMPT TO REACH RAPID AGREEMENT ON A SMALL INCREASE, I.E. A NET INCREASE OF TWO SEATS BRING THE BOARD TO 36 AS COMPARED TO ITS PRESENT 34. THIS WOULD MEAN ANOTHER AFRICAN BEING DESIGNATED IN LIEU OF SOUTH AFRICA AND AN ADDITIONAL ELECTED SEAT EACH FOR AFRICAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA. SPONSORS OF AMENDMENT WOULD, I BELIEVE, BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THIS RESULT. GIVEN THE FURTHER RUMBLINGS WE ARE PICKING UP PARTICULARLY FROM THE LATIN AMERICANS AND THE WESTERN EUROPEANS WHO ARE ANXIOUS TO SOLVE THE ITALIAN-SPANISH-SWEDISH ISSUE, I AM INCREASINGLY SKEPTICAL WHETHER WE CAN ACHIEVE A QUICK SOLUTION CONFINED TO AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES I SUGGEST WE HAD BEST ENGAGE IN STONEWALLING TACTICS FOR THE JUNE BOARD WHICH I EXPECT MAY IN TURN MEAN THE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE TO FURTHER STUDY THE ISSUE WHICH WILL BE PRECISELY THE OUTCOME PREFERRED BY THE DIRECTOR GENERAL.

9. REQUEST INSTRUCTIONS FOR HANDLING THESE
ISSUES AT JUNE BOARD.
STONE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, MEMBERSHIP, COMMITTEES, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 01-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977VIENNA04444
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770195-0896
Format: TEL
From: VIENNA USIAEA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197706100/aaaadjwu.tel
Line Count: 228
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: dfce0773-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 IAEA VIENNA 4357, 77 STATE 123863, 77 IAEA VIENNA 4177
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1996273
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOUTH AFRICAN REPRESENTATION IN IAEA AND ARTICLE VI REVISION
TAGS: PARM, TECH, MNUC, SF
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/dfce0773-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009